Caodeng rGyalrong phonology: a first look

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1. INTRODUCTION

The variety of rGyalrong reported here is spoken at the Gqiuli (嘎秋里Ka-khøy-ri /kʰu-tʃʰwe-ci?) Village, Caodeng (草登 Tshø-bdun /tsʰo-bdo/) Township, Sidaba District (四大家 sTød-pa /stot-pa/), Ma-er kang County, Aba Prefecture, Sichuan. Caodeng belongs with Ribu (旧部 rDzong-nbur) and Dawei (達維 Ta-we) to the Sidaba or Northwestern dialect of rGyalrong. Data on Caodeng were gathered at Ma-er kang in August through September 1994, mainly from Mr. 石丹羅 (/rtøn-lo/), aged 31 in 1994, currently an instructor of mathematics at the Ma-er kang Junior Normal College. Transcription of the data is phonemic.

The Sidaba dialect of rGyalrong includes, in addition to Caodeng, a significantly divergent Ribu-Dawei subdialect, which is said to be also spoken in Southwestern Aba and Central Rangtang. All in all, Northwestern rGyalrong is spoken in four counties: (1) Ma-er kang 马尔康: the Sidaba District with three townships: Caodeng, Ribu, and Dawei (now renamed 康山 Kangshan); (2) Aba 阿坝: in certain villages of Kesha 柯沙 and Rongan 茄安 Townships at the southwestern corner of the county abutting the Sidaba District of Ma-er kang County; (3) Rangtang 建塘: along middle Duke 杜柯 river in Wuyi 舟依 (formerly, and locally still, known as 耿达 Gengda) Township (south of Kalong 卡隆 Village, which is Amdo-speaking) and parts of Shili 石里 Township (north of Zhongdashigou 中大石溝, Xiongla 雄拉, and Shangdashigou 上大石溝); (4) Seda 色达: south of the Seda river near the confluence of the Seda and Duke Rivers.

There are ten villages in Caodeng Township. According to our consultants, the speech of Gqiuli, Daiji (代基 /tʃøj-tsi?), Zhulin (珠林 /tʃu?/), Zhouche (周車 /xøsøʔ-tʃʰeʔ/), Ka-ergu (卡爾古 /mḵʰer-gu/) are practically identical. Kelaji (科挃基 /qʰo-lar-kjiʔ/) and Sini (斯尼 /ʃiʔ/) differ from the above only slightly (e.g. Gqiuli -e <> Kelaji -ə). The speech of Baoyan (寶岩 /pʰo-nɡə/) and Shazuo (沙左 /sla-kloʔ/) shows marked influences from the Dawei subdialect, while the local dialect of Sila-erdí (斯挃爾底 /snê-rнdi/) Village shares affinities with the Northern or Chabao dialect.
2. Phonology

2.1. Segmental phonology

The following system of initial consonantal contrasts can be established for the Gaquli variety of Caodeng rGyalrong (those in parentheses are marginal or occur only in Tibetan or Chinese loans):

<table>
<thead>
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<th>p</th>
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<tr>
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</table>

/p/:

pa
qe-pe?r

/pʰ/:

phər-tʃu
pho-waŋ

/b/:

tə-bu?
qa-jlo-be?

/nb/:

kı-nbiʔ
kı-nbiτ

/m/:

meʔ
ke-mo

/t/:

kə-toʔ
ke-ta

/th/:

tʰəl-pə
ke-thi

'pig'
'wild dog'

'bowl'
'boulder'

'roasted bun with meat filling'
'dough'

'give'
'sand'

'no!'
'swallow st. dry'

'exist; have'
'weave'

'cloak'
'drink'
/d/: du-dut ‘turtledove’
       ra-da? ‘animal’
/nd/: kb-ndɔs ‘gather vi’
       kɛ-ndi ‘carry; ride’
/n/: ka-nɔt ‘burn vi’
       nɔ-nɔ? ‘that’
/ts/: kb-tsɔm? ‘take away’
       kɛ-tsɔ ‘say; speak’
/tsʰ/: ka-tsʰan ‘complete’
       tsʰet ‘goat’
/ndz/: ndzem ‘bridge’
       kɛ-ndzɔr ‘stand’
/tʂ/: ka-tʂa ‘naughty’
       ka-tʂot ‘hot (of weather)’
/tʂʰ/: ka-tʃʰet ‘drop n’
       tʂʰu? ‘maybe’
/dʐ/: ɛsɭ-dʐev kɛ-pe ‘reward v’
/ndʐ/: tɔ-ndʐe ‘photo’
       ndʐo-we ‘guest’
/tʃ/: tʃe? ‘tea’
       tʃo-ne ‘dance’
/tʃʰ/: ka-tʃʰet ‘hold vi’
       tʃʰo-mɛ ‘lass’
/dʒ/: qa-dʒi? ‘sheep’
       kb-nɔ-dʒɛv ‘fall asleep’
/ndʒ/: kb-ndʒa ‘swim’
       tɔ-ndʒi ‘skin’
/p/: ɲɛ-pu ‘lamb; kid’
/k/: kom? 'door' ka-k? 'this'

/kʰ/: kho 'room' ta-k?e 'mouth'

/g/: tu-go? 'fool' pho-ge 'quilt'

/ng/: ka-ng?e 'wear' ra-ngu 'boulder'

/ŋ/: tu-ŋe? 'drought' sl-ŋ?e 'moon'

/q/: ke-q?-se 'search' k?-qa 'skin; shell vt'

/qʰ/: qel-du 'ashes' t?-q?u 'backside'

/ŋG/: ta-ŋG?er 'sputum' ka-ŋGo? 'loose'

/s/: s?-su 'lunch' k?-sis 'know'

/z/: khaŋ-zer 'spoon' zo? 'bovine'

/l/: skem-la? ka-pe 'lightning] flash' le 'god'

/ʃ/: ʃp 'bridle'

/j/: jo 'buckwheat' je 'flesh; meat'

/ʒ/: ʒ-le 'mud for smearing on wall' tu-ʒe 'chieftain's wife'
/x/:  
  ke-tʃa-xó-xo  ‘neigh’  
  ke-sə-xər-xər  ‘throw on the ground’  

/ɣ/:  
  Yón-bo  ‘prince who becomes monk’  
  ke-né-ɣə  ‘play v’  

/χ/:  
  ké-χəm  ‘snore’  
  ko-χə  ‘good’  

/ŋ/:  
  tə-ŋə-Jlo  ‘leftside’  
  tə-ŋe?  ‘younger sibling’  

/h/:  
  hó-thjo kn-pe  ‘sneeze’  
  mə-he  ‘buffalo’  

/r/:  
  pó-rot  ‘spider’  
  jkù-ru  ‘takin’  

/l/:  
  hí-li  ‘cat’  
  ke-lut  ‘release’  

/w/:  
  ta-woʔr  ‘hoarfrost’  
  ta-wa  ‘liquor’  

/v/:  
  kn-ʋə-vo  ‘whimper’  
  tə-ʋuʔ  ‘spindle’  

/j/:  
  qa-ju  ‘insect’  
  tə-ja  ‘hand/arm’  

In addition, a full set of palatal affricates must be recognized, herein interpreted as palatalized velars: i.e. /kʃ/= [ʃʃ]; /kʰʃ/= [ʃʃ]; /gʃ/= [ʒʃ]; /ŋɡʃ/= [ŋʒʃ].

Only a small subset of the possible initial consonants can occur as syllable codas: /-p/-t/-t; /-m/-n; /-ŋ/-r/-l; /-s/-ʔ/. The coda /-r/ is usually devoiced; conversely, /-s/ is usually voiced. /-p/ can be optionally realized as a partially devoiced labio-dental spirant [-ɬ], causing the entire syllable to take a falling pitch. Thus, /ʃp/ ‘bridle’ is either [ʃpʰ] or [ʃp̚].

In contrast with its elaborate system of distinctive consonants, Caodeng rGyalrong has a well-balanced and relatively simple vocalic system:
If gliding vocoids are treated as combinations of main vowels plus the two consonantal glides, /j/ and /w/, then it is not necessary to posit underlying diphthongs for Caodeng rGyalrong.

2.2. Segmental phonological processes

2.2.1 Assimilation

Anticipatory assimilation is quite common in Caodeng. In the following example, the vowel -o in the perfective negator morpheme mo- becomes [e] and [o] under complete assimilation to the subsequent syllables te- and to-.

mo-te-marku       [me-te-maɾku]       'he did not steal'
mọ-to-knowled?    [mọ-to-knowled?]  'he did not beat me'
nọ-to-knud?       [no-to-knud?]      'he beat you'

2.2.2 Syncope

Caodeng also employs rules that simplify medial consonant clusters, as shown in the following examples:

kọ-tʃɔv  'six'        kα-tʃo-sqe  'sixty'
kọ-ɾkjet 'eight'      kα-ɾkje-sqe? 'eighty'
kọ-ŋɡɔt  'nine'       kα-ŋɡo-sqe  'ninety'

kɛ-pʰɔt  'to demolish'  pʰɔ-tσa-kα  'Let’s (us two) demolish!

2.2.3 Epenthesis

kɛ-n-re-we  [kɛ-n-dʐe-we]  'to hope'

2.3. Ablaut

Vocalic alternation, or ablaut, is one of the most salient phonological characteristics of Gaquli Caodeng. Although this phenomenon is seen to some extent also in other parts of speech (e.g. jkɔtsə 'stone' vs. jkɔtspu 'pebble'; mjo-sqe? 'fifty' vs. sqə-mjo 'fifteen'), it is with verbs that ablaut is most noteworthy. In brief, some forms in the verbal paradigm contain vowels that
are systematically different from those in the citation-forms (i.e. infinitives). The most commonly attested phonological alternation is lowering (e.g. -e > -u; -i > -e), although other alternations also exist (e.g. -u > -e; -e > -i). Comparative evidence shows that it is often the (synchronously) ablauted values that are historically prior (e.g. 'to eat' ñdzê (root) vs. ñdzê (ablauted form); cf. lCog-rtse za; PTB *dza). Two ablaut patterns have been noted so far. The first pattern (hereafter ABLAUT A), exemplified by such verbs as kw-wi ‘to come’ and kw-rñbe ‘to press’ exhibits ablaut only in the non-first-person perfective forms, whereas the other more common and more complicated pattern (hereafter ABLAUT B), exemplified by such verbs as kw-ñbi? ‘to give’ and ké-ñhi ‘to drink’ has ablauting in the first person singular (all tenses), non-first-person singular (future only), as well as singular imperative/prohibitive forms in the paradigm. Some common verbs representing each pattern are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Alternation</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to buy</td>
<td>kw-xtu</td>
<td>u → v</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to come</td>
<td>kw-wi</td>
<td>i → e</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>ké-ñhi</td>
<td>i → e</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>kw-ñdzê</td>
<td>e → u</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to give</td>
<td>kw-ñbi?</td>
<td>i → e</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to press</td>
<td>kw-rñbe</td>
<td>u → e</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another type of morphologically conditioned ablaut has been noted in the limited database between the infinitive and the perfective. This area is in need of further investigation. For example:

'full:INF'  ká-mtsñot
'full:PF'   ta-mtsñot

2.4. Suprasegmental Phonology

2.4.1 Pitch-accent

The single most important suprasegmental property in Caodeng is pitch. Unlike such Eastern dialects as Zhuokeji, Benzhen, or Suomo, Caodeng appears to have developed a pitch-accent system reminiscent of, but much simpler than, Standard Tokyo Japanese. Phonological words in Caodeng rGyalrong differ as to whether (and where) there is a pitch-drop in the middle of the word, as evidenced in the minimal pairs bellow (syllable-sequences manifesting the pitch-drop are boldfaced):
'tax'  
'tó-ri\L

'rope'  
'té-ri?\II

'sow'  
'pa\H-mo\L

'boar; male pig'  
'pa\I-p\H-o\H; pa\H-gjo\L

'Dangba (pn)'  
'tu\H-nbb\L

'Aba (pn)'  
're\I-pe\H

'Pontso (pn)'  
'pho\H-tsho\L

'Dawa (pn)'  
'zhe\I-we\H

'my age'  
'be\H-fwe\L

'my tooth'  
'be\I-fwe\H

'a bottle of'  
'ká\I-tu\H-nbi\L

'bottle'  
'tu\I-nbi?\II

smi?  
'ká\I-me\H-v\H-já\L

fire  
PF:OR-be extinguished-EVID

'The fire has gone out.'

smi?  
'ká\H-me\L-v\L-já\L

fire  
PF:OR:Q-be extinguished-EVID

'Has the fire gone out?'

neggi-ka tawa  
'ja\I-tu\H-the\L

2nd-AGT liquor  
FUT-2:-drink

'You are going to drink the liquor.'

neggi-ka tawa  
'ja\H-tu\I-the\L

2nd-AGT liquor  
FUT:Q-2-drink

'Are you going to drink the liquor?'

The pitch-drop (H-L) will henceforth be represented by an **acute accent** on the high-pitched syllable before the pitch-drop, for instance:

'tax'  
'té-ri

'rope'  
'te-ri?'

smi?  
'ká-mé\L-v-kjá

fire  
PF:OR-be extinguished-EVID
‘The fire has gone out.’

smi? kó-meв-kjə
fire PF:OR:Q-be extinguished-EVID
‘Has the fire gone out?’

Accent placement in Caodeng is usually on the last two syllables of a word. Antepenultimate and pre-antepenultimate accents, which occur mainly in conjugated verbal forms, are infrequent. Unlike Japanese, there does not appear to be any phonological distinction between ultimately-accented and unaccented syllables. Ultimate accent can thus be considered the default accent position and left unmarked. Although the accent system in Caodeng seems relatively limited in scope, accent must be lexically specified as its occurrence is unpredictable from the rest of the phonological structure. As in Tokyo Japanese, unaccented word-initial syllables as well as post-accent syllables are low-pitched, whereas medial syllables before the accented syllable normally take the high pitch. Syllable-final vowels tend to devoice in unaccented open syllables [e.g. /kn-thi/ → [kn⁵⁵thi₁₁] ‘to drink’], apparently as a corollary of reduced syllabic prominence. Furthermore, when a penultimately-accented word becomes the first element of a compound in word-formation, its accent is suppressed:

‘foot’ tó-me
‘back side’ tə-qʰú(?)
‘heel’ tə-me-qʰú(?)

‘rain’ tó-mu
‘water’ tə-tʃ́í?
‘rain-water’ tə-mu-tʃ́í?

‘sand’ qạ-nbaḥ
tsbé
‘salt’ qạ-nbaḥ-tsbé
‘sand-salt’

‘fox’ qạ-tʃ́ɪwet
‘rope’ tə-ri?
‘Gaqiuri (pn)’ qẹ-tʃ́ɪwe-ri?

‘stone’ jkó-tse
‘diminutive sf’ pu
‘pebble’ jko-tse-pu
‘Phentso (pn)’  phón-tsʰo
‘Trashi (pn)’  tsʰ-w-jì?
‘Phentso Trashi’  phán-tsʰo? tʂ-w-jì?

However, penultimate accent is retained if it is the second element in a compound that carries an accent. Interestingly, since word-formation rules in rGyalrong require the deletion of the prefix of the second compound element on which the original accent is usually placed, the inherited ‘floating’ penultimate accent is realized on the root of the preceding compound-element:

‘foot’  tó-me
‘eye’  tó-mpa
‘ankle’  tə-mé-mpa

Similar effects recur when verb roots are partially reduplicated to derive the corresponding reciprocal forms:

‘like’  ke-rɡe
‘like each other’  ke-rɡə-rɡe

‘pull’  ke-rw-nθen
‘pull each other’  ke-rw-nθə-nθen

but:

‘hit’  ké-xsəw
‘hit each other’  ke-xsə-xsəw

‘look for’  ke-qə-se
‘look for each other’  ke-qə-sə-se

As well as in the derivation of causative verb forms:

‘die’  ké-set
‘cause to die’  ke-so-set

‘full’  kó-mtsʰot
‘fill’  ke-so-mtsʰot

Thus, accent in Caodeng exhibits the property of stability commonly attested in African tone systems.

In sum, all of the foregoing data can be most straightforwardly accounted for in terms of accent or syllabic prominence, with the most noticeable phonetic
manifestation being modulations in pitch-register, much as in Tokyo Japanese. The phonological function of pitch in Caodeng, therefore, involves accentual rather than purely tonal phenomena. Moreover, accent in this language should be represented on a separate tier independent of the segmental structure.

2.4.2 The glottal stop

The glottal-stop coda, which normally (but not always) conditions a high-level pitch, is also contrastive in Caodeng. For example:

- 'sweet'  kə-kʰji
- 'candy; sugar'  kə-kʰjiʔ
- 'narrow'  kə-tʃɔɾ
- 'sour'  kə-tʃɔɾʔ
- 'heavy'  kə-rɡji
- 'light adj'  kə-gjijʔ

Reversal of syllable-final glottality is one of the markings of perfectivity in Caodeng:

- 'to buy'  kə-χtu
- 'he will buy'  ja-χtəj
- 'he bought'  te-χtujʔ
- 'to wear'  kə-ŋgəj
- 'he will wear'  ja-ŋgəj
- 'he wore'  te-ŋgəjʔ
- 'to fetch'  ke-roʔ
- 'he will fetch'  ja-rojʔ
- 'he fetched'  te-ro
- 'to smoke'  ke-ʃkiʔ
- 'he will smoke'  ja-ʃkeʔ
- 'he smoked'  te-ʃki

Word-finally in unaccented syllables, the glottal coda does not appear at all.
2.4.3 Functional forms

Certain grammatical prefixes are **accent-retaining**. The futurity markers **Jo-** and **Jo-** are cases in point: if the verb root has penultimate accent, so will the future forms. Contrast the following forms of the two verb roots **Kb-ni** 'to drive (livestock) to pasture' and **Kb-kö** 'to drive (livestock) back to fold':

\[ \text{Bgji-ka zo eki J5-ko-ŋ} \]
'I will drive the bovines to pasture.'

\[ \text{Bgji-ka zo eki Ji-ni-an} \]
'I will drive the bovines back to fold.'

With other tenses no difference in accent exists between the two verbs:

\[ \text{Bgji-ka zo eki ye-ko-ŋ} \]
'I am driving the bovines to pasture.'

\[ \text{Bgji-ka zo eki ye-ni-an} \]
'I will drive the bovines back to fold.'

\[ \text{Bgji-ka zo eki ne-ko-ŋ} \]
'I drove the bovines to pasture.'

\[ \text{Bgji-ka zo eki ne-ni-an} \]
'I drove the bovines back to fold.'

Another such prefix is the second person index **Jo-** in future verb forms:

\[ \text{Ndʒi zo J0-t5-ko J0} \]
2sg bovine FUT1-2 drive to pasture Q-be
'Are you going to drive the bovines to pasture?'

\[ \text{Ndʒi zo J0-ta-ne J0} \]
2sg bovine FUT1-2 drive back to fold Q-be
'Are you going to drive the bovines back to fold?'

Contrast the above with the absence of penultimate accent in the other tenses:

\[ \text{Ndʒi zo t-ye-ko J0} \]
2sg bovine 2sg-IMPF drive to pasture Q-be
'Are you driving the bovines to pasture?'
Negji Zo  t-esa-ni   ʒ-ŋo  
2sg  bovine 2sg-IMPF-drive back to fold  Q-be  
'Are you going to drive the bovines back to fold?'

Negji Zo  je-ta-ko    ʒ-ŋo  
2sg  bovine PF-2-drive to pasture  Q-be  
'Did you drive the bovines to pasture?'

Negji Zo  je-ta-ni     ʒ-ŋo  
2sg  bovine PF-2-drive back to fold  Q-be  
'Did you drive the bovines back to fold?'

The SAP-affecting imperative marker Co- is another accent-retaining prefix. For instance:

Katji? Katʂhât  nô-ʃtŋe-ŋ!  
water  some  IMP:RV-give to drink-1sg  
'Give me some water to drink (< kë-ʃte 'to give to drink')!

2.4.4 Compounds vs. Phrases

As shown above, when a penultimately-accented word becomes the first element of a compound in word-formation, its accent is suppressed. However, the penultimate accent is retained if it is the second element in a compound that carries an accent. In other words, only one accented syllable is allowed per phonological word in Caodeng. True phrases in Caodeng do not involve accent-reduction, but compounds do. Therefore, compounds form unitary phonological words while phrases do not, as seen in the examples below:

'foot'        tó-me  
'eye'         tó-mŋa  
'ankle'       tó-më-mŋa  

'eye'         tó-mŋa  
'skin'         tó-ŋdʒi  
'eyelid'      tó-mŋá-ŋdʒi  

'foot'        tó-me  
'back side'   tó-qhû?  
'heel'        tó-me-qhû?
'foot'  tó-me
'tip'  tə-kó?
'tip of foot'  tə-me-kó?

'foot'  tó-me
'back'  tə-zgé?
'back of foot'  tə-me-zgé?

'foot'  tó-me
'side'  tə-3ⁿbé?
'side of foot'  tə-me-3ⁿbé?

'foot'  tó-me
'heart'  tə-sní
'center of sole'  tə-me-sní

'foot'  tó-me
'finger/toe'  tə-ⁿdzrú?
'toe'  tə-me-ⁿdzrú?

'rain'  tó-mu
'water'  tə-kjí?
'rain-water'  tə-mu-kjí?

'head'  tə-kó?
'hair'  tə-rmü
'hair of head'  tə-ko-rmü

'head'  tə-kó?
'skin'  tə⁻ⁿdzjí
'scalp'  tə-kó⁻ⁿdzjí

'head'  tə-kó?
'brains'  tó⁻₃nco
'brains'  tə-kó⁻₃nco

'head'  tə-kó?
'nit'  ndzru?
'nit in hair'  tə-ko⁻ⁿdzrú?

'head'  tə-kó?
'louse'  jer
'head-louse'  tə-ko-jer
'head'  
ta-kó?

'bone'  
ʃé-ru

'skull'  
ta-ko-ʃé-ru

'fox'  
qé-tʃiwe wet

'rope'  
ta-ɾí?

'fox-rope (pn)'  
qé-tʃiwe-ɾí?

Consider the accent patterns of the N-V and N-ADV phrases below, each of which constitutes two phonological words, each with its own accent:

'order (n)'  
tó-ndzu

'to do/make'  
kə-pé

'to order'  
tó-ndzu kə-pé

'dance (n)'  
tʃo-né

'to do/make'  
kə-pé

'to dance'  
tʃo-né kə-pé

'dog'  
kə-zę?

'big'  
kə-xté

'big dog'  
kə-zę? kə-xté

'person'  
kə-rənbjó?

'bad'  
kə-sa-qʰé

'bad person'  
kə-rənbjó? kə-sa-qʰé

'my spouse'  
ẹ-ɾgje

'good'  
kə-vdé

'kind'  
kə-ŋó-ln

'my good wife'  
ẹ-ɾgje kə-vdé

'my kind wife'  
ẹ-ɾgje kə-ŋó-ln

2.4.5 Accent Shift

Three cases have been noted so far where accent shift has syntactic import. First, yes-no questions are formed out of statements by shifting the original accent of the verb phrase to the penultimate syllable, and, if the penultimate syllable already bears the accent, to the antepenultimate syllable.

Jó?r  
sonum tawa ne-thí

yesterday pn  
liquor PF:OR-drink

'Sonam drank liquor yesterday.'
Jö?r sonem tawa né-tbi
yesterday pn liquor PF:OR:Q-drink
'Did Sonam drink liquor yesterday?'

smi? kō-mév-kjə
fire PF:OR-be extinguished-EVID
'The fire has gone out.'

smi? kā-mev-kjə
fire PF:OR:Q-be extinguished-EVID
'Has the fire gone out?'

koko-kə vagji? jo-návlo-anj
3sg-AGT 1sg fut-cheat-1sg
'Maybe he will cheat me.'

koko-kə vagji? jō-návlo-anj
3sg-AGT 1sg fut:Q-cheat-1sg
'Will he cheat me?'

negji-kə zə? jō-tō-ko
2nd-AGT bovine FUT:Q-drive to pasture
'You will drive the bovines to pasture.'

negji-kə zə? jō-tə-ko
2nd-AGT bovine FUT:Q-2-drive to pasture
'Will you drive the bovines to pasture?'

negji-kə tawa ja-tū-the
2nd-AGT liquor FUT:Q-2:drink
'You are going to drink the liquor.'

negji-kə tawa jō-tə-the
2nd-AGT liquor FUT:Q-2-drink
'Are you going to drink the liquor?'

Another function of (leftward) accent shifting derives vocative forms of personal names, thus:
If, however, the original name already carries penultimate accent, the vocative form remains unchanged (barring heightened intonational effects):

\[ \text{phón-} \text{tsʰo} \quad \text{phón-} \text{tsʰo} \]

Third, when names of utensils are used as units of measurement, accent is shifted to the penultimate syllable, for example:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{zrо-lа?} & \quad \text{‘copper bucket’} \\
\text{kо-} \text{zró-la} & \quad \text{‘a bucket of’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{tʰb-vа?} & \quad \text{‘plate’} \\
\text{kо-} \text{thé-va} & \quad \text{‘a plate of’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{phár-tʃʊ} & \quad \text{‘bowl’} \\
\text{kо-} \text{phár-tʃu} & \quad \text{‘a bowl of’}
\end{align*} \]

This phonological process is freely applicable to either Tibetan or Chinese loanwords:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{tб-} \text{nbї?} & \quad \text{‘bottle’ (< Tibetan)} \\
\text{kо-} \text{tё-} \text{nbї} & \quad \text{‘a bottle of’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{rdзё-кё?} & \quad \text{‘cup’ (< Tibetan)} \\
\text{kо-} \text{rdзё-ко} & \quad \text{‘a cup of’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{тsон-тsόn} & \quad \text{‘cup’ (< Chinese)} \\
\text{kо-} \text{тsόn-tsоn} & \quad \text{‘a cup of’}
\end{align*} \]
2.4.6 Construction-Specific Accent Patterns

Some morphosyntactic processes impose their own accent on the constituent morphemes. Thus, intensive forms of stative-verbs obligatorily receive penultimate accent, regardless of the accent positions of the original verbs.

3. MINIMAL AND NEAR-MINIMAL SETS

3.1 Onsets:

\[ k \leftrightarrow q: \]

\[ kaj? \quad \text{‘Walk!’} \]

\[ qaj \quad \text{‘wheat’} \]

\[ tf \leftrightarrow kj: \]

\[ te-tfe \quad \text{‘throw st down’} \]

\[ te-kje \quad \text{‘pour you out of (bag)’} \]

\[ n \leftrightarrow j:\]

\[ ke-rpi \quad \text{‘to taste’} \]

\[ ke-ni \quad \text{‘to drive back to fold’} \]

\[ x \leftrightarrow \chi:\]

\[ ta-xtse \quad \text{‘shoes’} \]

\[ ka-\chi tse \quad \text{‘clean adj’} \]

\[ y \leftrightarrow \nu:\]

\[ ke-\nu ndu \quad \text{‘throw st down’} \]

\[ ka-\nu ndu \quad \text{‘beat’} \]
\( v \leftrightarrow w: \)

tä-vot \quad 'sleeves'  
mt\text{h}e-wot \quad 'skirt'  

3.2 Rhymes:

\( b \leftrightarrow a: \)

tá-ri \quad 'body filth'  
té-ri \quad 'tax'  

\( o \leftrightarrow o: \)

\( \varnothing \) \quad 'who'  
\( \mathfrak{c} \) \quad 'buckwheat'  

\( e \leftrightarrow e: \)

tō-me \quad 'foot'  
tō-mē \quad 'woman'  

me? \quad 'No!'  
mē? \quad 'poplar'  

3.3 Accent-Pitch:

tē-ri \quad 'tax'  
tw-ri? \quad 'rope'; 'shelves for storing grain'  

kō-tʃor \quad 'pickled radish leaves'  
kə-tʃōr\? \quad 'sour'